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THE *Nation*

January 7, 1950

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THE Nation

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China: Blunder upon Blunder?

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

DURING the recent session of the General Assembly it was easy for the United States to put off a decision on the new government of China. Russia and its satellites recognized the Communist regime, but as long as the other nations were waiting, with little eagerness, until Mao's government was clearly in control, the situation could be treated as another facet of the cold war and its inevitable consequences ignored.

Interestingly enough, this interlude of wishful procrastination was ended by the action of India, itself a new state and heavily dependent on American favor. When India recognized Communist China, it insured early recognition by the other members of the Commonwealth, as well as by China's close neighbors, and confronted the United States with the necessity for some quick decisions.

Common sense and the facts of life in Eastern Asia would seem to make our course an obvious one. With the Nationalist regime in exile on the island of Formosa, Mao's army and government remain the only effective force in China. Consequently every power interested in doing business there must now, reluctantly or otherwise, recognize the Communist regime. If the United States delays doing so, all it will accomplish is to increase the hostility of the Chinese people and give the other nations an advantage in matters of trade and diplomatic relations.

But these considerations are not, it seems, the controlling ones. American policy toward China is determined today neither by the merits of the case nor by self-interest and the desirability of acting in concert with its closest associates. Weighing heavily on the other side of the scales are domestic political pressures and cold-war strategy. These two apparently unrelated influences are working together to produce a policy which is as dangerous as it is unrealistic.

The immediate issue is not recognition. Apparently the State Department does not intend to brave the reaction in Congress that recognition at this time would produce. More urgent and more difficult to dodge is the question of Formosa. General MacArthur has told the National Security Council that Communist control of Formosa would threaten this country's outer Pacific line of defense. Some authorities, even in the Pentagon, dispute this theory; a glance at the map discloses how much closer Formosa lies to the Chinese mainland than to any American possession or base. But to the all-out militarist the next island or port or strait is always a strategic necessity in planning the defense of areas already in hand. (How, for example, once we have "saved" Formosa, shall we be able to tolerate Communist power just across a short stretch of water on the Chinese mainland?)

MacArthur wants the government to send a strong military mission to Formosa to help Chiang Kai-shek repel an eventual Communist attack. This plan, it is said, has lately won the support of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who until MacArthur's views had been carried to Washington by Undersecretary of the Army Voorhees and General Gruenther took the position that the risks involved in backing Nationalist resistance in Formosa outweighed any possible gains. Today the idea of intervention on the Greek model seems to have become the favorite policy of the highest brass as well as of certain influential Republicans, including particularly Senators Knowland of California and Smith of New Jersey, whose bitter opposition to the Administration's policy so far in China threatens the European recovery and military-aid programs, both of which will require new appropriations in the present session of Congress.

Just how the President feels about it is still a secret. If he accepts the prevailing military view he can simply announce his decision as he announced the Truman Doctrine in 1947. Since the dispatch of a "mission" would not commit the nation to outright military involvement, and since the President has at his disposal $75,000,000 allocated last year for aid to the Chinese Nationalists, he need not go to Congress for authorization to act. But if he takes such a step he will do so knowing that it is sure to lead to further expenditures of unpredictable dimensions. Will our economy-minded legislators, already intent upon paring down the ap-

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propriations requested for the European program, vote sums that may well mount into billions to keep Formosa—allotted to China by the Cairo conference—out of the hands of an established and generally accepted Chinese government?

THIS is a factor the President will certainly weigh most carefully before he decides to follow the advice of the military and the Republican Senators. Only a new epidemic of war fever could be counted upon to extract enormous appropriations for so dubious an enterprise. And the difficulty will be greater when Congress grasps the further facts that support of Chiang in Formosa will complicate our relations with friendly or allied powers, already prepared to recognize Mao, isolate us in the Security Council, and burden us with responsibility for Chiang's harsh exploitation of the island population.

Newspapers are talking smugly these days about enabling a last bit of "free China" to hold out in Formosa. In heaven's name, let us stick to straight strategic arguments, for whatever they are worth! Five years after the war's end the people of Formosa speak longingly of the days of Japanese rule. In 1947 the brutality of Chiang's officials produced a spontaneous movement of protest. It was suppressed by Nationalist troops, which swept through the towns shooting down unoffending citizens in a massacre unequaled even in China for atrocities and indiscriminate cruelty. Today a sober, hard-working population, better educated and industrially far more advanced than the Chinese of the mainland, has been forced by Nationalist tyranny into a state of sullen resistance. The standard of living has dropped sharply; unemployment is high; the island industries, badly run down, produce for the sole benefit of the mainland clique that took them over. With an army of 500,000 quartered there and Chiang's gold reserve fast disappearing, Formosa faces a miserable future. To such a state has a rich, well-developed land been brought by the government we are asked to maintain with American dollars!

Matters like this seldom bother military men. But we should remind Mr. Truman and Mr. Acheson—who are not military men—that basically it was neither superiority in numbers or arms nor any other material force that defeated Chiang Kai-shek in China. It was the long-smoldering anger of an ill-fed, ill-treated people aroused at last to action against those they held responsible for their fate. The President and his Secretary of State should have this in mind as they ponder the issue of sending supplies and money and a "strong military mission" to help Chiang in Formosa. If they lose this round to the military, the hope of a decent Far Eastern policy will have been foreclosed. America has faced no more critical decision since the war ended.

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The Shape of Things

FRANCE CAME OUT OF ITS CRISIS WITH A budget formally approved and a Cabinet still in office, but with both seriously weakened by the small margin by which they were saved. At the end of almost continuous balloting Bidault's majority was reduced to four votes, and the Assembly was left as divided and irreconcilable as ever. The Prime Minister knew very well that politics rather than finance played the decisive part in creating the budgetary crisis three weeks ago. It was because of this that he forced so many votes of confidence. In a budget of some 2,300 billions of francs a dispute over 45 billion could not by itself have brought about such a tense situation. Nobody denies that the budget is a gigantic one, but as long as the costly war in Indo-China drags on, any substantial reduction will be practically impossible. What the crisis reflected was the desire of certain groups not for economies but for a dissolution of Parliament and new elections. The present parliamentary majority is split into three sections: on one side the Socialists, on the other the Radicals and various "independents" and "moderates," and between the two the M. R. P., unwilling to go to the polls entirely disassociated from the Socialists lest it give the appearance of supporting a return to the policies of 1938. De Gaulle and the Communists, on the other hand, encouraged by their gains in recent local elections, are working for dissolution. But even voting together they cannot muster the 311 votes required unless they find among the other groups in the Assembly a few Deputies who believe the center has more to gain than to lose by going to the country. The fact that the government's majority was reduced to four, after seven votes of confidence in ten days, shows how uncertain is the present equilibrium achieved by Bidault.

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TOWARD THE END OF 1948 MARSHAL TITO admitted that the economic boycott of Yugoslavia by the Cominform nations was hurting and might force revision of his Five-Year Plan. Thirteen months later, in a New Year's message, he was able to claim that the crisis had been overcome. "We did not perish, as the enemies of our country predicted," he said. "We did not sell ourselves to capitalism . . . and we have advanced faster and faster in the building of socialism." Tito declared that the third-year goals of the Five-Year Plan had actually been fulfilled without foreign aid. Be that as it may, economic relations between Yugoslavia and the Western world have notably improved in the past year, and a considerable inflow of raw materials and capital goods from the United States, Britain, and other countries should help to speed up future economic development. The United States Export-Import Bank has made a $25,000,000 loan available, chiefly for improvement of the important Yugoslav non-ferrous mining industries; the International Monetary Fund has provided a $9,000,000 credit; the British government, in connection with the new Anglo-Yugoslav trade agreement which should greatly increase trade between the two countries, has granted a credit of $22,400,000. In addition the International Bank for Economic Development has made a small loan for lumbering equipment and is discussing terms for one of a much larger amount. Apart from political considerations, these moves make sense. Nothing is more vital for European recovery than restoration of links between the complementary economies of East and West, and a really imaginative cold-war strategy would try to do more to meet the need for goods of the Soviet satellite countries, which have found Russia a very unsatisfactory trade partner. That, indeed, might prove the best way of stimulating "Titoism" east of the Elbe.

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RAFAEL LEONIDAS TRUJILLO, THE "GREAT Benefactor" as he long ago proclaimed himself, has exchanged the role of social reformer for that of war lord. On December 26 his privately owned legislature—everything in the Dominican Republic belongs to him—granted him power "to declare war against any Caribbean nation that knowingly harbored plotters of revolution aimed against the Dominican Republic." In his omnipotence he did not consider it necessary to consult the Organization of American States or the United Nations, or even the State Department. To justify his policy to the world he counts no doubt upon the experience of his diplomatic corps, lately enriched by the appointment of his eighteen-year-old son to the post of Inspector General of Embassies and Consulates. The whole episode would provide a perfect libretto for a new comic opera were it not that Dictator Trujillo possesses the best military machine in the Caribbean. The two countries singled out as his eventual enemies are Cuba and Guatemala. Cuba he charges with having allowed the preparation on its territory of several projected expeditions by the so-called Caribbean Legion, aimed at overthrowing his model state. It is worth recalling that at the moment he announced an enemy concentration around the Amelie, a property practically next door to the American base of Guantanamo, correspondents flew over the area without discovering even a trace of martial activity. Against Guatemala, Trujillo's charges are equally ridiculous, although it is true that wherever there are exiles from the Dominican Republic they are working for the end of a regime that for seventeen years has tyrannized the country and now threatens the entire Caribbean.

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CALLED INTO SESSION BY GOVERNOR EARL Warren on the eve of the Christmas holiday to consider legislation dealing with lobbyists and the problem of sex crimes—the Governor did not clarify this attempt to link sex and lobbying—the California legislature acted as though the date were April 1 rather than December 22. For after taking a stern stand against sex crimes, the legislators adopted, by voice vote, a resolution barring lobbyist Arthur H. Samish from appearing before the legislature or any of its committees (see The Guy Who Gets Things Done, by Carey McWilliams, *The Nation*, July 9, 1949). The Speaker of the Assembly, a great friend of Artie's, told the press that he had called for a voice vote, despite cries of "roll call, roll call," in order "to take the boys off the spot." It has been many years, of course, since Mr. Samish has bothered to visit the legislature, much less to put in any appearance before one of its committees. His influence with legislators is acquired long before they arrive in Sacramento. When informed of the legislature's action, Mr. Samish exclaimed: "Thank heavens it has been proved that I do not control the legislature! Now I can catch up on Christmas shopping for my grandchildren."

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EAST IS EAST AND WEST IS WEST AND ALL censors are brothers under the skin. On one side of the globe Andrew Roth, our correspondent in Asia, is excluded from Japan by Douglas MacArthur; on the other, Pantelis Bistis, a Greek editor, is kicked out of Cyprus by British authorities because he suggests that "Great Britain has lost its position as a first power." It is strange how completely modern proconsuls lack self-confidence. Roth is thought "subversive" because his five-year-old book, "Dilemma in Japan," provides useful ammunition to progressive critics of the Great White Father; Bistis is undesirable because his words provide ammunition to Cypriot patriots just as Cyprus prepares to vote on the question of separating from British rule and rejoining the Grecian motherland. Whether the proconsuls, British and American, will find their position strengthened by the expulsion of Bistis and the exclusion of Roth remains to be seen. It seems probable, however, that there will be considerably milder protest from those most directly concerned—the gentlemen of the press—than there would have been in happier days before the advent of the cold war. To date, the banning of Andrew Roth has evoked, in pages other than our own, one editorial—a strong protest in the New York *Post-Home News*—one flip distillation of the facts in *Time*, and a few brief news reports. The plight of Mr. Bistis has disturbed almost nobody except some of the members of the Federation of Hellenic-American Societies of Greater New York, an organization favoring self-determination for Cypriots.

Year of Economic Decision

IN THEIR forecasts of economic trends during the first half of 1950, the experts display unusual unanimity. Independent economists agree with those employed in industry and finance that the business barometer is set fair, and mildly booming stock markets suggest that this opinion is shared by the investing public. But when we inquire what is likely to happen after midsummer, the crystal balls turn cloudy. The prophets are hesitant, but most of them seem to incline to the view that although no real depression is to be expected, the second half of the year will see an economic decline.

The outlook, then, is for a reversal of our experience in 1949, the early months of which were marked by rising unemployment and a sharp fall in production in some industries. For a time a definite "recession" appeared to be developing, but a sudden upturn in business during the summer gave rise to the view that we had merely passed through a "healthy readjustment" *forced on us by overloaded inventories. Allowing for* temporary disturbances caused by industrial disputes, employment has held up well for the past six months, although there are more workers without jobs than a year ago, and national income has been close to its peak level.

In the months immediately ahead it is reasonable to expect these conditions to continue. The veterans' insurance dividend and government deficit financing will tend to maintain purchasing power; basic industries, including steel and automobiles, expect a strong demand for their products; the housing boom which developed last year will almost certainly keep on.

Why, then, are doubts about the longer-term outlook so prevalent? The chief reason is that business investment, which has been so marked a feature of postwar prosperity, seems destined to decline and eventually, in the view of many economists, to exert a deflationary effect on the economy powerful enough to offset the inflationary influence of government fiscal policies. Hence, business spokesmen argue, the greatest need at this time is to fortify business confidence by cuts in public spending and by reduction of taxes, particularly those which bear heavily on enterprise and investors.

Although we believe that under present circumstances the national budget should be balanced, we suspect that a balance achieved solely by economy measures would have deflationary consequences which would serve to diminish rather than increase business confidence. Nor are we at all certain that changes in the incidence of taxation to favor the higher income groups would stimulate a new spurt in capital expenditure. If business investment is now tapering off, it is not because of high taxation but because, since the war ended, productive

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capacity has been raised to the point where it tends to exceed demand *at current prices*. Consequently, industry as a whole is likely to postpone enlargement of its facilities until demand once again begins to press on supply.

What we most need, therefore, in our quest for stable prosperity is to maintain consumer demand at a level which will prevent a glutting of the market. Whether or not we achieve that objective during the coming twelve months depends on wise decisions by government, business, and labor. The government can contribute by giving preference to tax revisions which tend to encourage spending—abolition of the war-time excises, for example—rather than those which promote saving. Industry can contribute by lowering prices to encourage demand rather than by slashing output in an effort to hold prices. Labor should remember that it too can "price itself out of the market" and should moderate its demands for higher pay except when advances in productivity make it possible to raise wages without recourse to increased prices.

Given economic statesmanship on these lines, we can this year complete in an orderly manner the process of post-war readjustment and lay foundations for a new period of economic growth during the nineteen fifties.

Congressional Calendar

BY BRUCE CATTON

Washington, December 29

THE Truman Administration's program for the coming session of Congress is being aimed with tolerable precision—and it may be with excellent political judgment—at the fall elections. While this Congress probably cannot be induced to give the White House everything it wants, a clear-cut record may well be made, and on that record, Administration supporters believe, an election can be fought.

Primarily the Administration will push for action on four matters—extension of social-security legislation, enactment of a solid civil-rights program, adoption of the Brannan agriculture plan, and repeal of the Taft-Hartley act. It will try, of course, to get many other things, not least of which is implementation of the Point Four plan, but those four items are basic.

More was accomplished in the last session than was realized at the time, and there is some hope that the by-elections in November may have caused at least a few legislators to see things in a new light, but only a rash optimist could think that Mr. Truman will get this schedule approved forthwith. However, there is an election coming, and the Administration is confident that what won the last election will win the next one. By the time Congress adjourns, the lines will have been drawn.

This means that the Republicans' "welfare state" gambit is being accepted, and with enthusiasm. It also means that Mr. Truman is emerging as President in his own right and architect of his own program. What is happening is that Mr. Truman is pulling the bits and pieces together—"integrating" them, in government language—in an attempt to build a broad, enduring base of popular support. The New Deal was a set of masterly improvisations; the Fair Deal is beginning to look like a planned, cohesive program. It is a program designed to meet the needs of the farmer, of labor, of the colored citizen, and of all the people who in this complicated, de-individualized age cannot by their own efforts gain a decent measure of economic security.

Presented en bloc, Administration measures unquestionably add up to the welfare state. They also add up to a program that is not likely to be beaten by men who have persuaded themselves that Alf Landon, Wendell Willkie, and Thomas E. Dewey had in common the defect of being altogether too liberal.

Although the program is aimed at the fall elections, the Administration is not without hope of getting some of it adopted at this session. The projected extension of the social-security law has already passed the House and will come up in the Senate this winter. The Fair Employment Practices Act, having been favorably reported by the House Labor Committee, is due to be voted on in the House before the end of January. Administration supporters are not ready to concede that either of them is a lost cause.

Taft-Hartley repeal does seem unattainable just now. After all, the House still contains 225 members—more than a majority—who voted for the law in the first place, and no one anticipates that those members will reverse themselves wholesale. The Brannan plan needs more stewing and seasoning before it will have much chance of being written into law, but a fight will be made, and in the course of it a good deal of gun-fire will almost certainly be directed at the Brannan plan's principal opponent, the Farm Bureau Federation.

One reason for the vigorous optimism with which the Administration looks ahead to the fall elections is the continued hard work being done by the labor groups. Both Jack Kroll and Joe Keenan, who direct the political activities of the C. I. O. and A. F. of L. respectively, have been busy for months on the precinct-by-precinct organization job that counts for so much when it is time to cast the votes. The two men are working together closely in Washington; and, more significant, there have been devised excellent arrangements for collaboration between the locals of the two organizations. It is estimated that such arrangements are functioning effectively in at least 60 per cent of the country's large cities.

In the field of foreign policy the Administration has several fairly delicate maneuvers to make. It must keep

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the ERP appropriation from being slashed too much—a gradual tapering off is about due, but there is danger that the cut may go too deep; it must provide funds for the military-assistance plan; and it must get its Point Four program adopted. By his cold-shouldering of the super-air-force boys and his cuts in the military budget the President has reduced the feeling of emergency which has hung over Capitol Hill for so long. Yet those very acts will make it easier for the isolationists to stage their attack.

Argentina, Nazi Paradise

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

FOLLOWING the example of his teacher Franco, Perón tries to repudiate his Nazi connections whenever he needs financial aid from the United States. But in the case of both dictators, a mass of incontrovertible evidence stands in the way of a convincing show of democratic rehabilitation.

As to Argentina, we have only to go back to the secret memorandum of the army dated May 3, 1943, one year before the Farrell-Perón military revolt which ushered in the era of totalitarian rule by generals and colonels in Latin America. That document made abundantly clear the goals of the coup d'état then in preparation. Its edifying *leit-motif* was the statement, "Hitler's fight in peace and war will guide us." It is still guiding them, though perhaps under another name, just as it is still guiding the reaction which is springing up everywhere only five years after the disappearance of the Führer. Never has history witnessed such a rapid comeback.

The personal protection offered by Perón himself to top German industrialists like Fritz Mandl and notorious Hitler agents like Ludwig Freude, allegedly one of the key leaders in Nazi underground activities on the South American continent, is well known. Freude figured prominently on the United States and British Black List, but by contrast his name occupies an exalted position on the "White List" of the Argentine government, which has given his firm, the Compañía General de Construcciones, exceptionally favored treatment, granting it a number of highly profitable contracts. When on November 30, 1945, Dr. Carlos Adrogue, secretary of the Committee for Vigilance and Liquidation of Enemy Property, resigned in protest against governmental interference in the work of the committee, it was discovered that Perón had appealed personally to President Farrell, vouching unconditionally for Freude, with the result that the inquiries were suspended.

The situation was well known throughout the world, and not least by the American government. Testifying before a subcommittee of the Senate Military Committee on June 25, 1945, Assistant Secretary of State William L. Clayton spoke of 108 major Axis economic enterprises that were operating in Argentina as Nazi spearheads. In the thick of the assault upon his policy and himself being pressed simultaneously in Washington and Buenos Aires, Spruille Braden, the American ambassador, predicted that "unless the Nazi element in Argentina can be extirpated it will remain a serious threat for the future." The danger was also discerned by the keen vision of President Roosevelt when on September 29, 1944, he referred publicly to "the extraordinary paradox of the growth of the Nazi-Fascist influence and the increasing application of Nazi-Fascist methods in Argentina." But despite these warnings, Perón was welcomed by the democracies in an outpouring of friendliness which was to be expected from people who were likewise engaged in whitewashing Franco.

I can hear some people saying that these are old stories. Is fresher evidence wanted? Here is some just come to hand. A carefully documented statement by the National Executive Committee of the Argentine Socialist Party in Buenos Aires lists the unanswered questions asked by the Radical Deputy Silvano Santander in the session of the Argentine Parliament held in July, 1949, with further questions added by the Socialists. Here are some of them:

1. Does Dr. H. Theiss, formerly of the Gestapo, now act as adviser to the Federal Police, and does he count among his aides three other Germans—Dr. F. Adam, H. Richner, and J. Paecht? (Here we have a repetition of the familiar story of former Gestapo officials now employed by the police forces of General Franco.)

2. Does the German national, Dr. Hans Koch, a notorious Nazi, hold a post in the Instituto de Promoción del Intercambio (I. A. P. I.)? (This is the export-import monopoly created by the Peronist regime.)

3. Were the following twenty-two Nazis, who were smuggled into Argentina in the middle of 1947, given high posts in the Ministry of Transportation following intervention in their behalf by Dr. J. Hensath? (Their names are then listed.)

4. Does the Argentine army employ in a technical capacity Hans Ulrich Rudel, the former Nazi colonel and aviator; Otto Skorzeny, the S. S. general who rescued Mussolini from prison; and General Adolf Galland?

5. Who authorized the return to Argentina of the

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Nazi spies Paul Wutke and Käthe Müller, who were expelled by government order on July 13, 1946? (The same story as in Spain, where known Nazi agents are "expelled" from time to time, for the sake of providing arguments for American politicians who favor a loan to the Spanish dictator, and later readmitted and recompensed.

All these agents stationed in Argentina and Spain form the spinal column of the new Nazi International, organized the moment the Western powers decided to make use of Germany as an ally against Moscow. They are extraordinarily active, with connections in all parts of the world, and needless to say they are not neglecting the United States. If this be doubted, then where are the thousands of Nazi agents who operated here before Pearl Harbor? Many are known to have gone to Argentina, hoping to make money and at the same time carry on their activities; some are publishing newspapers for distribution in Germany, like *Der Weg,* which was finally prohibited in the American zone.

In the Argentine capital itself, Robert Kessler, of the German Gestapo, works on the *Freie Presse*, successor to the Nazi publication which disappeared during the war. Another member of the staff of that paper is the infamous Freisler, one of the Hitler agitators who later worked in Franco's Foreign Ministry and was then passed on by the *Caudillo* to Perón.

In Córdoba Professor Willy Tank, former airplane designer in the service of Hitler's government, directs the work of atomic research, assisted by three hundred German technicians. He now goes by the name of Mathies. (Many Nazi agents have been encouraged by the Franco government to take new names.)

During the speech mentioned above, Deputy Santander quoted a former Nazi intelligence officer who in Buenos Aires boasted of having got away from the United States counter-intelligence corps in Germany by a bribe to a second lieutenant of $300. The former Nazi remarked: "There are now so many former Gestapo men in the intelligence service here that it is riskier to tell a joke about Argentine government personages in German than in Spanish."

There is the case of another German named Warren who entered the country without papers. He works in the Casa Rosada (presidential palace) and travels around the country with the credentials of the presidential secretariat; he holds the rank of "minister."

Most of the 60,000 Nazis who were in Argentina when the war broke out are still there, and their ranks are constantly increased. It might be interesting if the American authorities found out who in this country is facilitating the regular transfer of Germans from the American zone of Germany to the Argentine Nazi Paradise.

Czechoslovakia Revisited

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

I. "Comes the Revolution . . ."

Prague, December 21

AFTER nearly a month in Czechoslovakia I am more convinced than ever that nine-tenths of our professional anti-Communist propagandists, including some on the Voice of America and a smaller number on the BBC, are barking up the wrong tree. Hunger, privations, shortage of food and consumer goods—these are precisely the things which are *not* inherent in the Communist regimes of the "new democracies." By and large the opposite conditions exist, and that is why communism is a danger to the West. If Czechoslovakia's material conditions continue to improve at the rate at which they have improved in the last year, the country will be more prosperous at the end of five years than any country in Western Europe. Unemployment is practically non-existent; production and the real wages of the industrial worker are above the pre-war level; after being one of the worst-fed countries in Europe a year ago Czechoslovakia is today one of the better-fed. Of course there are still some shortages: the milk ration for children above three is inadequate; the basic rations of minor government officials are lower than basic rations in England; but many spectacular improvements can be noted.

On September 1 the rationing of bread and "all flour products" was abolished. As a result the whole city of Prague is guzzling cream cakes. It may be only whipped margarine, not real cream, but I have seen elderly workmen with horny hands gobbling five or six cream cakes for their breakfast, washing them down with ersatz coffee or beer. In old-fashioned Hapsburg coffee houses like Misak's, mobs of men, women, and children sit all afternoon munching cream cakes. When you walk

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ALEXANDER WERTH, The Nation's *correspondent in Eastern Europe, reported on conditions in Czechoslovakia last spring. The second article of his present series on the changes effected by the Communist regime will deal with the intellectual repression, the "token" terror, and the extent of "Titoism."*

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through Prikope or Wenceslas Square, you would think half the population of Prague spent all their time shopping and eating.

No doubt the nearness of Christmas has given an impetus to shopping. Queues and mobs are everywhere—in the glassware and china shops, the toy shops, the bijouterie shops, and above all in the Pramen, TEP, and JAS stores, which are marked "free sale." These "free" shops are one of the most striking features of Prague this year; Pramen sells groceries, TEP textiles, JAS shoes outside the ration. At Pramen you pay two dollars for a pound of filet steak, a dollar for a pound of cheese; at JAS you can get a pair of men's shoes for forty dollars—three, four, or five times as much as you would pay on the ration, but so what? A multitude of people have the extra cash. It is not undemocratic, one is told; the more you work, the more you can buy in the "free" shops. Take an average family with three wage-earners—the father earning say 4,000 crowns, the mother 3,000, and a daughter another 3,000—that makes about $200 a month. Less than half goes for rations, rent, and heating, and a margin of 5,000 crowns is left every month for luxuries.

Is there not here a solution that might be considered in England? What if we also had our off-the-ration steak at double or treble the ration price? But no! In England the rich, the idle rich, would be the chief beneficiaries of your Pramen. In Czechoslovakia the "rich," except for a dwindling class of black-marketeers, are "those who work most." The system may, of course, be a bit of a reflection on the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses. In Russia during the First Five-Year Plan and again during the war it was not necessary to dangle extra hunks of free-market steak before people's noses to make them work harder, and yet even in Russia, as soon as the war was as good as won, "commercial shops" appeared, forerunners of the Czechoslovak Pramens and TEP's. In Yugoslavia they tried to make enthusiasm, and not the extra steak, the main incentive to higher output, but that ideal had to be modified.

Your Czech worker is not the kind of fellow who falls easily for revolutionary oratory, and he does not like to be pushed around. But give him more steak and he will work harder. There comes a point, however, when he will decide that two steaks are enough, and that rather than work hard for a third steak he will go to the movies. This presents a problem to the Czech Communist leaders. "Every Communist must be a shock worker," Gottwald has said, but less than 10 per cent of the entire trade-union membership of over three million are shock workers, and there is considerable resistance to the introduction of Socialist competition and "Stakhanovism" in the Czech factories. There have even been some strikes, of which the press has said next to nothing. I am assured that the strikes were amicably settled: usually the manager was sacked and somebody else given the job, after which everybody was happy. "No, no, no, we do not use force against strikers, we use persuasion," I am told. And, "Mind you, strikes are not illegal under our constitution." Well, I don't know what really happens in such cases, but I have learned from other sources that things do not always work out so smoothly. A good deal of absenteeism seems to be practiced, no doubt because two steaks are enough, and malingering has been so common that the rules concerning medical certificates have been severely tightened.

BY AND large, the system is working, and after the new year prices in the "free shops" will be cut once more. It is rumored that wages will also be cut, which is possible, since one of the Czech economic principles is not to allow wages to run too far ahead of prices, as they did until the end of last year. (Since then Czechoslovakia has become one of the very few countries in the world with a falling note circulation.) How to increase the number of shock workers is one of the government's major problems, and one has the suspicion that if the "third steak" won't do the trick, political pressure will be exerted. Slansky has already warned the Communist Party that no new members except shock workers may be admitted, and it is commonly believed that any worker who refuses to join a shock brigade will, after a number of warnings, be expelled from the party. Needless to say, such an expulsion carries a stigma and is bound to hamper a worker's promotion. With, relatively, the largest Communist Party in the world, the Czech leaders can well afford to use the purge weapon. Some 100,000 members have been expelled, but more than 2,000,000 remain, more than one-sixth of the entire population.

The latest speeches of Gottwald, Zapotocky, and Slansky have all had the twofold theme: "We have achieved wonderful successes in the last year"; "beware if you don't do even better next year." There is less emphasis on Gottwald as the benevolent father of his people than there was a year ago; one encounters it chiefly in magazines like *Czechoslovakia Life,* which are intended for foreign consumption. The idea of Gottwald as "the heir of Benes" is not so fashionable either, for this is a different world. While slogans to the effect that "life will be easier, life will be jollier," modeled on the Soviet propaganda of the mid-thirties, are used to encourage the people, a certain harshness pervades Czech life. The Czech leaders, however, are extremely careful not to antagonize the peasants and not to introduce collective methods of cultivation too rapidly; the emphasis in the villages is still on efficiency and the greatly increased use of agricultural machinery rather than on collectivization.

While in Prague, I could not help recalling the phrase

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used by De Gaulle or one of his lieutenants: "Much as we hate communism, Eastern Europe makes sense, and Western Europe does not." In this connection it seems important to explode another favorite myth of our anti-Communist propagandists—that Czechoslovakia is being "mercilessly exploited" by the Soviet Union. It is not. The clear purpose of Soviet policy is to make Czechoslovakia, economically, an outstanding success. Of course, Czech hats—with almost revolutionary effect on the Moscow street scene—Czech shoes, and Czech textiles go to the Soviet Union, and the people I have talked to are only too delighted that they do—"What else would our light industries do?" In return Czechoslovakia receives from Russia not only raw materials and large quantities of food but, as one Czech leader said to me, "increasing amounts of elaborate heavy machinery, which the Russians are producing now and which we can no longer buy in the West." The Five-Year Plan emphasizes the development of heavy industry, but during the present transition period the Czechs are extremely glad to find an outlet in Russia for their shoes and textiles and glassware. Equally satisfactory is their trade with the other "people's democracies"—with Hungary, Poland, and Rumania. In return for manufactured goods they receive trainloads of cattle and pigs, and one of the outstanding successes of Czech economy has been registered by the pig-feeding centers established on state farms.

The story that the Russians merely use Czechoslovakia for turning their raw materials into shoes and textiles and that the finished articles are all sent back to Russia is just another piece of bunkum. The people today are better dressed than they were a year ago. The Czech worker spends a much larger proportion of his wages on clothes than does, say, the French worker, who gives top priority to food and is willing to wear any old thing. It is a good joke that under one of the harshest Communist regimes in the world Czechoslovakia has not outwardly abandoned its bourgeois way of life and that Communist prosperity is strengthening the middle-class respectability of the working class. But is not this, after all, typical of all Eastern Europe? Will not Russia, too, with the help of Czech hats and increasingly rigid divorce laws and warnings to young girls to be chaste in the name of proletarian discipline, become thoroughly respectable and outwardly middle-class?

But while Czechoslovakia, materially, promises to become Europe's showpiece of Socialist planning—not least for the edification of Italy with its millions of unemployed—the other side of the picture is seen in the intensive bolshevization of the country, the "token terror" of Prague, and the bid to turn the amiable land of Masaryk and Benes into one of Stalin-loving and Stalin-fearing men and women. "More food, less freedom" just about sums it up.

In the Wind

ONE OF THE WORLD'S most erudite and at the same time most lively prize contests is conducted every week in the back pages of the London *New Statesman and Nation*. In a recent issue contestants were asked to submit sonnets conforming in rhyme scheme with the following definition from the "Concise Oxford Dictionary": "Sonnet, n. Poem of 14 lines (usu. rhyming thus: pig bat cat wig jig hat rat fig; lie red sob die bed rob or lie red die bed pie wed. . .)." Out of a great many entries the following prize-winner seems especially accomplished:

A TORY LAMENT

Cuts from the tender calf or prime fed pig
Are gone since Attlee's side went in to bat;
We're doled out joints that erstwhile fed the cat,
While foreigners strut in denture, specs, and wig;
Back benchers dance their rude triumphant jig
Across the House; Penury hangs his hat
In stately homes, while like a ravening rat
Taxation gnaws our wealth, nor cares a fig
About Incentive; still they spread the lie
"Labor's our best defense against the Red";
Though amputated Empire's left to die
With ghostly ground nuts gibbering round his bed.
Even the skies appear bereft of pie
Since Labor and Britannia were wed.

E. M.

Could it be E. M. Forster?

THE LATEST WORD from Westbrook Pegler [New York *Journal-American*, December 28]: "The Reuthers are officers of a tax-exempt parasita [*sic*] with a history of insurrection against government and of cruelty to rank-and-file workers [for example, Communists?—ED.] who refused to bow to its ruthless discipline. As the officers of this outfit they had a reasonable expectation of being knocked off in appropriate revenge, and the only reason why any decent citizen should deplore the shooting of this pair was that such shooting was illegal and tended to discredit the majesty of government."

MOST HEARTRENDING classified advertisement of 1949: "Poor lady lost wallet . . . Roosevelt Raceway; reward."—From the New York *Times* of September 22.

THE REVEREND TED V. VOORHEES, a Methodist pastor in Carnegie, Pennsylvania, has found a new pulpit technique, according to N. E. A. A competent semi-professional magician, Mr. Voorhees takes an empty cylinder every Sunday and magically produces yard after yard of colored cloth. Then he proclaims: "If I can do this, and you do not understand, what must God be able to do with his ominous powers?"

ON A WALL of the bus-station waiting-room at Holbrook, Arizona, hangs a framed copy of the Bill of Rights. On the wall directly across from it hangs the familiar Jim Crow sign of the Southwest: "We Reserve the Right to Refuse Service to Anyone."

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War in the Pentagon

III. WHY UNIFICATION FAILED

BY FLETCHER PRATT

IT WAS probably necessary that heads should roll as a result of what has been rather unfortunately called "the B-36 controversy," but that the major head to fall thus far should be that of an officer who was doing his legal duty in truthfully answering questions from Congress practically insures that the matter will not end at this point. Admiral Denfeld was specifically authorized by law to present to the House "any recommendation relating to the Department of Defense that he may think proper." He actually did far less; he only answered questions.

Whatever the House does about this when it comes into session again, the removal of the Admiral has pushed true unification farther into the distance than ever. The desired union is one of ideas, of hearty cooperation in executing a plan drawn in committee; and this is likely to be hard to obtain while naval officers feel that their part is limited to carrying out orders, with the threat of punishment if they so much as express an unpalatable opinion. This uncritical acquiescence was what Hitler used to exact from his officers, and it was one of the reasons why he failed.

In fact, there is more than an indication that the Joint Chiefs of Staff system needs overhauling. Some such body is certainly needed to make strategic decisions at the highest level; the question is how far down these decisions should go. A great part of the trouble rises from the fact that its officers have felt their authority to make decisions in their own field invaded by men of other services who lack both their experience and their technical information. The place of the high strategic authority should be to produce the general war plan and to tell each service what part it shall have in executing it. The methods used in carrying out the mission need to be decided by the experts in each service. That is what experts are for.

Thus the navy men only weaken their own position by so violently criticizing the ability of the B-36 to carry out the air-force mission of strategic bombing. They weaken it because the air force is in a still poorer position when its head seeks to tell the navy what ships it needs to build for its mission of controlling the sea, and when it asks that the big carriers shall be laid up. The coming of air power has erased much of the meaning of coastlines; in the Japanese war it was demonstrated that control of the sea could not be achieved unless sea-based planes could go some distance inland to attack enemy bombers in their nests, and other sea-based planes could maintain combat patrols over convoys. For the other two services to tell the navy what weapons it shall use is much as though navy and air force were to combine in the Chiefs of Staff to tell the army it must use light tanks only, because heavier ones cannot be carried in air-borne operations.

The bad temper exhibited in the whole controversy was rather surprising, especially from General Bradley, who bears the reputation of one of the fairest and most equable of men. This bad temper was probably responsible for some of the absurd statements that were made —the unproved and unprovable accusations that the B-36 is vulnerable at high levels and, above all, Secretary Symington's charge that the navy statements were a danger to national defense through the disclosure of our plans. Both as to performance data of the B-36 and as to its possible use in war far more has been revealed by the releases of the air force itself than came out at the hearing. Moreover, the general nature of national strategy is a thing impossible to conceal. It flows out of the very composition and proportioning of the armed forces. For instance, it was perfectly obvious at the beginning of World War II that the British would resort to blockade and a war of attrition against Germany. They lacked the means for a major war on land. And if we build B-36's, it is simply silly to imagine that people will not inquire what they are going to be used for.

THE bad temper that produced these charges—as well as the naval officers' remarks about the moral obliquity of atom bombing—of course had its roots in the fact that the struggle was primarily one for the control of funds. One aspect of this is still unresolved—the question of who really controls the funds. Congress appropriated money for the construction of the carrier United States; it also voted for a seventy-group air force. Both acts were overridden by the executive department, and the question arises whether the legislative body will consent to hand out military appropriations in blank-check form, with the details to be filled in by the executive.

FLETCHER PRATT is the author of "A Short History of the Army and Navy," "Eleven Generals: Studies in American Command," and other books. This is the third article of a series analyzing the testimony of high navy, army, and air-force officers at the recent Congressional hearings.

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However, this issue is not quite so clean-cut as it appears. The Congressional leaders would be in a far better position to protest if they had not themselves initiated the blank-check policy by insisting that defense appropriations be held within an arbitrary limit of $15,000,000,000. Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson enormously helped to confuse matters when, in furtherance of his own political ambitions, he promised to cut another billion off the figure through unification—and then discovered that cuts of this magnitude were simply not obtainable through operative efficiency but would have to come out of actual reduction of forces.

But the fundamental issue here is the fallacy of the view that a nation can have "defense" for any specified sum, no matter how small or how large. The amount of defense needed is regulated by factors outside the control of any nation, except as its diplomacy may make less armament necessary. That amount depends upon the strength of the nation's neighbors and their disposition—whether they are merely neighbors or potential enemies. Adequate national defense for the United States could be had very cheaply in the 1880's and still at a relatively low figure in the early 1920's. But when we are faced with a gigantic and expanding force which has openly declared itself inimical to everything we stand for, the price is higher.

In fact, the whole process of making defense appropriations and allocating them has been one of placing the cart before the horse. The only way it can be done effectively is by inviting the high strategic authority to draw a war plan and then providing the means to implement it. This is a method that needs careful civilian controls. It is also a hard method, one which will force us to forgo many desirable things in other fields. But the alternative is to fall into the error made by France before World War II, which resulted in the maintenance of the standard of living at the cost of life itself.

OF OTHER questions brought out at the hearing, the admirals made a rather bad point when they talked about the immorality of the atom bomb. Of course it's immoral; so is war itself. It was A. T. Mahan—an admiral himself, now that one comes to think of it—who at an international conference to discuss the outlawing of gas warfare asked whether it was any more immoral to suffocate a man than to drown him. The fact that many of the people hit would be civilians has not a great deal of meaning in this age of really total warfare, when a woman at a lathe in a factory is as important as a man at the front, and neither can operate without the other.

The admirals made an extremely good point, however, when they remarked that detailed information on the B-36 had been withheld from the navy and that the air force had refused to allow a test of the big plane against navy fighters. This was not denied by the air-force people, and it makes strange reading in view of the air-force claim that the navy is opposing unification. Surely any system of common planning demands that the officers at the top of each service shall have the fullest information as to the weapons, techniques, and capabilities of the others. And surely even within a service the officers should inform themselves as fully as possible with regard to the effectiveness and drawbacks of their own weapons. It is no answer for the air force to say they have a better fighter than the navy's.

The controversy over the Marine Corps has an entirely different basis from the rest of the affair; it is not a matter of money but of command, not one of the allocation of funds but of personnel. General Bradley, perhaps unintentionally, outlined the issue when he said: "I would like to point out . . . that I participated in the two largest amphibious assaults ever made in history. In neither case were any marines present. And in neither case were any navy carriers used."

He was talking about Sicily and Normandy, and what he says is perfectly true. The part about navy carriers can be dismissed; the water distances in both assaults

LOOKING BACKWARD
As the Century Opened in "The Nation"

WE ARE now asked to pay the cost of an army of 100,000 men. No one asserts that more than 30,000 are necessary for the United States proper. All our garrisons and coast defenses could be amply manned at that figure. It is into the Philippine gulf that we have to pour the 70,000. Then why not be open and business-like about it and call that force the Philippine army, legislating for it separately? It is not, strictly speaking, the United States army, unless we allow that the tail should wag the dog. . . . Detailed accounts, specific appropriations are of the essence of republican government. To give the taxpayers a perfect understanding where their money goes in the various branches of the public service is the first duty of those who bear rule. Of what use is it for Secretary Gage to send in to Congress and give to the country the grand total estimate of the next fiscal year "for the military establishment, $140,000,000"? . . .

The public has too much business sense to approve an organization under which one bureau distributes the food of the soldier, a second his eating utensils, a third his clothing, and a fourth his pay. . . . Still less will the public support such a system after reading the figures in Sunday's *Tribune* as to the expansion of these army bureaus. The Quartermaster's Department alone has 4,955 civilian employees, the Ordnance Bureau 3,200 civilian clerks, messengers, etc., and the Subsistence Department 580. Indeed, it would seem as if every ten soldiers required one civilian to help look after them.—January 10, 1901.

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were so short that aerial cover could be given from land bases. Carriers were most distinctly used in the attack on southern France, and will continue to be used in all amphibian operations where close-in land bases are not available.

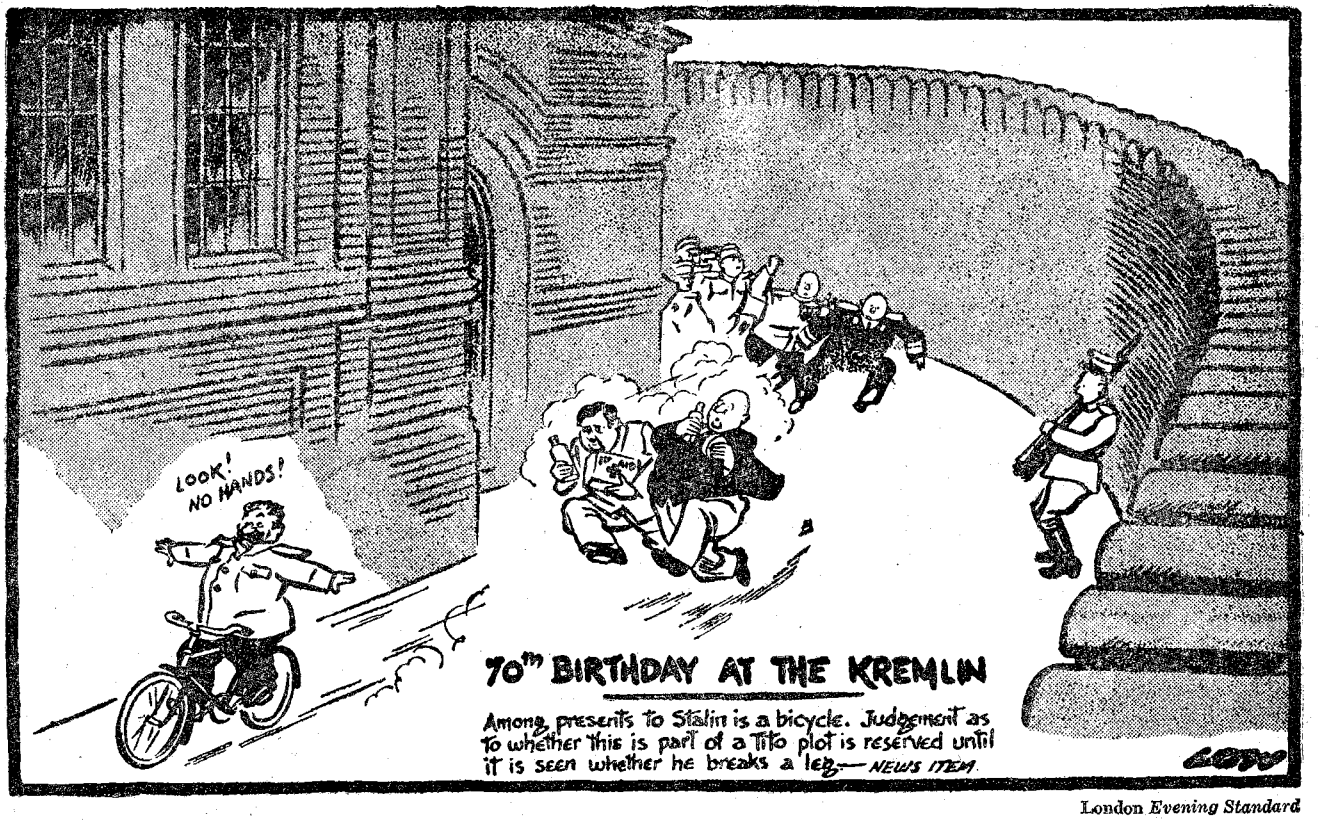
But the reason why no marines were present in General Bradley's two amphibious assaults was that the attacks were headed by army formations specially trained in amphibious work and specially equipped for it. The training was done under the supervision of marine officers who had devoted years of study and experiment to the problems involved. The equipment employed was developed by the marines over the same period.

The General did not prove that a large marine force was unnecessary; he only proved that he would rather have it under army command, and called the Army Amphibious Corps. Something like this has been in army minds ever since 1943, and the marines are quite right when they say that there has been a consistent effort by every army head from General Marshall down to pare down their organization by one means or another. It is the army view that the marines are really analogous to the military police, and should be restricted to somewhat similar functions; and that the existence of the marines as a *corps d'élite*, attainable only by enlistment, robs the army of its share of the better grades of man-power. Perhaps; but this does not demonstrate that an Army Amphibious Corps would be any less a *corps d'élite*—the Rangers certainly were—and this whole side of the controversy simply works out as an old-fashioned struggle for power.

Yet even this struggle for power has taken place in the shadows, and without the public or even Congress being fully informed. When General Cates came before the committee, it went on the record for the first time. He has no such statutory right as the Joint Chiefs to present such recommendations as he may think proper on his own initiative but is forced to depend upon the ranking naval officer to represent him.

This is very well in itself, for Congress would be smothered if every head of a special corps or bureau were allowed to take up its time with matters that should be settled in the service departments. But it underlines one of the basic defects in our present set-up—a defect which is at the bottom, not of the controversy, but of its surprising violence and regrettable bitterness. This defect is the gag rule placed on service officers, which requires them to get approval from top-side before they can express an opinion on service matters in public. It might be justified as a war-time measure, but we are not really at war. It might be modified to demand clearances for security, but it has not been.

It is simply a device to prevent criticism, to secure an appearance of unanimity by making service opinion a matter of the party line; it is making an officer something less than a full citizen of the country as soon as he puts on its uniform. It violates the most valuable traditions of American military service; our navy might still be in the antediluvian stage in gunnery, for instance, if officers had not spoken out in 1908. And it insures that there will be more explosions like the current one whenever the pressures become intolerable.


LOOK! NO HANDS!
70TH BIRTHDAY AT THE KREMLIN
Among presents to Stalin is a bicycle. Judgement as to whether this is part of a Tito plot is reserved until it is seen whether he breaks a leg.—NEWS ITEM.

London *Evening Standard*

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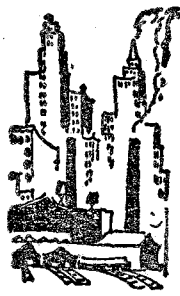

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

World Oil Surplus

A LITTLE less than two years ago [January 31, 1948] I was writing on this page about the oil shortage. At that time fuel oil was particularly scarce, and hundreds of thousands of householders were suffering from cold or paying black-market prices for supplies. Refineries, competing for crude oil, had pushed up its price to more than twice the O. P. A. level, and there was talk of reimposing government controls. Congressmen, however, seemed more interested in placing a ban on oil exports.

In the twenty-three months which have since passed, the picture has changed dramatically. An exceptionally mild year has lessened demand in this country for fuel oil, which is also beginning to feel the competition of natural gas. Instead of a world shortage we have a world surplus, thanks to large increases in production outside the United States, and instead of demands for restriction of exports, demands for limitation of imports. The one thing that has not changed is the price of crude oil, which regulatory authorities in the main producing states have held firm by manipulating production quotas. These are facts that must be borne in mind when considering the current dispute between the British government and the big American companies that have large interests in foreign oil fields.

Britain's consumption of petroleum products since the war has been limited by severe rationing, but the financing of even minimum import requirements has placed a heavy strain on the country's dollar resources. Although it imports comparatively little oil direct from the United States, it has been dependent to a considerable extent on American-controlled production in Venezuela and the Middle East, payment for which had to be made in dollars. Britain has practically no indigenous supplies, but British companies have large oil-holdings in Iran, Iraq, and Kuwait, and also in Venezuela. In all these fields output has been increasing and, perhaps more important, there has been a great expansion, thanks partly to E. C. A. assistance, in British-owned refinery capacity, which is expected to reach 8,500,000 tons in 1950 compared with 2,500,000 in 1947.

Even this British oil has to be paid for partly in dollars, since the companies producing it have many dollar costs. They must, for instance, buy some of their equipment in this country, and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company is committed to paying royalties in dollars to the Iranian government. Nevertheless, the British government is able to save large amounts of dollars when it can substitute British-controlled for American-controlled oil, and as there is now a rising surplus of the former, it has requested the American companies to eliminate all fuel-oil imports into Britain and to reduce their gasoline shipments by one-third. With other Commonwealth nations taking similar action, it is hoped that sterling-area dollar expenditure on oil, estimated at $625,000,000 in 1950, can be cut by 5 to 10 per cent.

Although this British move is in accordance with the E. C. A.'s suggestions for economizing in the use of dollars, the American interests concerned have cried, "Foul!" and are currently demanding measures by Washington against what they call "discriminatory" action intended to bolster the competitive position of British companies at their expense. And it must be admitted that restriction of sterling-area markets, in addition to threatening profits, does place the big American oil combines in a politically embarrassing position both at home and abroad. Already they hardly know what to do with all the oil they are producing in Saudi Arabia and Venezuela, but they are nervous about reducing production lest the governments of these countries, which are largely dependent on oil royalties for revenue, start turning the heat on them. They might, of course, divert some of this surplus production to the United States. That would be a logical and profitable step, since the landed cost of Arabian oil in New York is below that of the Gulf states product, but it would inspire formidable opposition.

Even now the American "independent" oil interests, which are mainly producers of crude and concerned only with the domestic market, are beginning to demand protection from foreign competition. They point out that while United States production was held down in 1949 to slightly under 5,000,000 barrels a day, about 14 per cent less than in 1948, imports increased from 500,000 to 700,000 barrels a day and are expected to advance at least to 850,000 in 1950. They note that the development of the Alberta oil fields offers a new threat. When pipe lines to Lake Superior, now under construction, are completed, Canada will be able to reduce present imports of United States and Venezuelan oil. Moreover, the obvious outlet for Alberta production, not all of which can be economically consumed in Canada, is the northwestern part of this country.

Last fall an attempt was made to tack on to the Reciprocal Trade Agreements bill an amendment providing for an oil import quota of 5 per cent of domestic requirements. It was narrowly defeated, and Senator Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma has promised to bring forward this proposal in the session about to open, either as a separate bill or as a rider to other legislation. Representative Gossett of Texas has an alternative plan for raising the tariff on crude oil from 10.5 cents to $1 a barrel.

Since the independent oil lobby is powerful, there is grave danger that one of these proposals, either of which would tend to perpetuate the present inflated price structure of the oil industry, will be carried. Millions of consumers should protest, but they have so far not received any benefits from the world surplus of cheap oil and are likely to remain unaware of how their interests would be affected by a barrier to imports. They could be rallied in opposition, however, if Standard Oil of New Jersey and the other big combines would take the bold step of deliberately using their surplus foreign output to force down current prices. In the long run, that would be to their interest, for unless they succeed in stimulating consumption by cutting prices here and abroad, the world surplus will continue to grow and cause them increasing embarrassment.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

SRL: UNFAIR TO LITERATURE?

[In *The Nation* of December 17 I printed a letter, addressed to the *Saturday Review of Literature*, which was turned over to *The Nation* for publication when it became clear that the *Saturday Review* would not publish it. The letter, which was signed by eighty-four persons representing a wide range of academic and literary opinion, was a vigorous protest against the publication last June in the *Saturday Review* of two articles by Robert Hillyer.

The Nation's publication of the letter and of my comment elicited the following statement from the editors of the *Saturday Review.*—Margaret Marshall.]

THE NATION, through its literary editor, Margaret Marshall, has accused the *Saturday Review* of being "unfair to literature." Behind that indictment is the following bill of particulars:

1. The *Saturday Review* has so far failed to publish a letter circulated by Mr. John Berryman denouncing the articles by Robert Hillyer and the supporting editorials on the Bollingen–Library of Congress Award to Ezra Pound. *The Nation* believes that *SRL* was high-handed, evasive, and specious in its decision not to publish this letter.

Mr. Berryman's letter, containing seventy-two signatures, was sent to the *Saturday Review* only *after* it had been included in a pamphlet condemning our position published by *Poetry*, of Chicago. We had learned of the existence of the letter prior to its publication in *Poetry* through a number of writers who had refused to lend their names to it. Mr. Berryman sent the letter to *SRL*, "urgently requesting" its publication here. We asked for a fairly full statement explaining the background of the letter. We thought it only fair, for example, that mention should be made of the fact that many writers refused to sign. We asked Mr. Berryman, in good faith, to acknowledge this fact and include such names. This he refused to do.

Mr. Berryman's letter came to us many weeks after the Hillyer controversy on the letters page had been formally closed by popular request. In all, *SRL* published ninety-four letters on the subject; toward the end the new arguments were virtually exhausted. There was nothing in the Berryman letter that had not been aired before.

2. *The Nation* contends that Mr. Hillyer and *SRL* believe that "poetry which the 'common man' cannot understand is undemocratic." No such statement has been made by Mr. Hillyer or the editors.

3. *The Nation* asserts we are against modern poetry because it is difficult. Not true. We are as opposed to the watering-down of literature as we are to coterie-literature. There is a distinction here which Miss Marshall may have failed to discern: the distinction between poetry that is difficult and poetry that is obscurantist. Even here, we entertained no objection to the publication of poetry which was not readily comprehensible even by students of poetry. What we did object to was the implied contention of the obscurantist school to the effect that if the public could read it, it probably wasn't poetry.

If *The Nation* wishes to know what it *is* we are against, we can be fairly explicit. We are against obscurantism masquerading as art for art's sake. We are against cults which profess to hold the exclusive keys to the literary kingdom. We are against cultural snobbery. We are against the mutual-admiration-and-benefit-society approach to criticism and literature, under which members enjoy special privileges and immunities, and write blurbs and prefaces for each other and review each other's books. We are against ganging-up, whether by representation in such important bodies as the Fellows of the Library of Congress or by denunciation of non-conformists.

4. *The Nation* claims that *SRL* is widening the rift between the artist and public, and, indeed, that we are "pitting" one against the other. Based on this interpretation of what we said, we are afraid that Miss Marshall has actually reversed our position. It is precisely because criticism by coterie has driven a wedge between poet and public that *SRL* published its articles and editorials. Our contention, in fact, was that certain poets were writing for each other, reflecting the "public-be-damned" attitude that is apparently central in their thinking. Few things have contributed more to the rift between writer and public, for example, than the Bollingen–Library of Congress Award to Ezra Pound.

What is particularly galling to the members of this school is the fact that, as a result of Mr. Hillyer's articles, the Bollingen–Library of Congress Award has been discontinued. This has resulted in the charge of philistinism and fascism against the *Saturday Review.* Charges of this sort can be answered only by the readers of a magazine and not by its editors.

In Miss Marshall's article and in much of the opposition now being rallied against the *Saturday Review's* position, the core center of the controversy has been largely forgotten. If the Bollingen Award had been a private matter, no questions would have been raised. The main question, as we see it, is whether a private group of poets can utilize the prestige of the American government to advance its own school.

EDITORS, THE SATURDAY REVIEW

The Indictment Stands

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

AND now, as Portland used to say to Fred Allen, "Shall we go?"

Section 1

First paragraph: My charge was not the equivocal one that the *Saturday Review* had "so far failed" to publish the letter. I said that the *SRL* had to all intents and purposes *refused* to publish it. My statement is confirmed in sentence 2; this sentence, by the way, is entirely correct.

Second paragraph: The letter was not "Mr. Berryman's letter." It was a letter

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approved and signed by eighty-four people, including John Berryman. This is a cheap attempt to reduce an impressive manifesto against the *Saturday Review* to a mere complaint by a single person. The letter was sent to the *Saturday Review* on November 4, and its receipt was acknowledged a few days later. (At that point it carried the names of seventy-two signers; twelve more were added later.) The acknowledgment of the *SRL* made it clear that it had no intention of printing the letter but was determined to avoid a straightforward refusal. On November 15 *Poetry* published a pamphlet called "The Case Against the *Saturday Review of Literature*." (It is excellent and costs only $1.) Offset copies of the letter of protest were folded and inserted in four hundred copies of the pamphlet. This hardly constitutes publication. But in any case the letter was not, as the editors of the *Saturday Review* assert, published in *Poetry*. The editors report, in dulcet tones, the story of their stipulation to Mr. Berryman that if they were to publish the letter they must have from him a list of the people who had been approached and had refused to sign it. Aside from the fact that Mr. Berryman had not the authority, much less the obligation, to reveal the names, this stipulation seems to me, as a working editor, at once so outrageous and so ridiculous that I refuse to believe that any experienced editor would make it "in good faith."

Third paragraph: The editors maintain that the letter, which reached them no later than November 7, came "many weeks after the Hillyer controversy on the letters page had been formally closed by popular request." How did it happen then that on the letters page of the issue of October 29, scarcely more than *one* week before the protest arrived, there appeared an indignant, ironic letter from Cleanth Brooks attacking the articles by Hillyer and demanding that he reveal the names of the persons he had accused of "intellectual neo-fascism" and of having a "genuine power complex"? It is admittedly an editor's prerogative to declare a controversy closed after a reasonable length of time. But why, if they had declared it closed, did the editors offer Mr. Berryman conditions on which, *presumably*, they were ready to allow it to be reopened? And why were they impelled, in their far from dulcet replies to him, to label the letter a "petition"—as if the *SRL* were a government or a court—and to insinuate, as they did, that the letter was somehow suspect. (I have copies of the replies; they reek with suspicion and bristle with insinuations.)

I accept the editors' statement that they have published ninety-four letters. I reject their contention that there was nothing in the protest of the eighty-four that had not been aired before. What was aired that had not been aired before was the very impressive news that eighty-four people of excellent standing in the literary and academic community had seen fit formally to denounce the Hillyer articles and the *Saturday Review's* support of them. Herein, of course, is to be found the *reason* why the *SRL* did not publish the letter —its editors have offered only excuses.

Section 2

I did not say that Mr. Hillyer and the *Saturday Review* had *stated* that "poetry which the 'common man' cannot understand is undemocratic." I said, and I still say, that this was the *purport* of the Hillyer articles. I have not the space, obviously, to analyze the articles here. I therefore refer readers to the pamphlet mentioned above.

Sections 3 and 4

In these sections the editors of the *Saturday Review* resort to the same variety of tub-thumping, the same leveling of horrendous and vague charges against persons whom they forbear to name, the same general obfuscation that characterized the Hillyer articles and the editorials supporting him.

I am glad to hear that the editors of the *SRL* are opposed, in theory, to the watering-down of literature. I shall be even more pleased when they put their theory into practice in the pages of the *Saturday Review*.

As for coteries. There are coteries and coteries. (And, again, how about giving us the names?) Some are bad, certainly; some are good, that is, creative. For better or worse, some of our finest literature has come out of small groups of creative writers—which were denounced in their time as coteries. Let me cite just one example. Have the edi-

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tors of the *Saturday Review* ever read, I wonder, Lord Byron's denunciation in "Don Juan" of Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey? (At least he named names.)

You—Gentlemen! by dint of long seclusion
From better company, have kept your own
At Keswick, and, through still continued fusion
Of one another's minds, at last have grown
To deem as a most logical conclusion,
That Poesy has wreaths for you alone:

He complained that Wordsworth's "Excursion" was—shall we say?—obscurantist.

'Tis poetry—at least by his assertion,
And may appear so when the dog-star rages. . . .
And he who understands it would be able
To add a story to the Tower of Babel.

Byron himself preferred the poetry of Sir Walter Hillyer—I mean Scott.

Obscurantism, like sin, is something that everyone is against. So are cultism, snobbery, and "ganging-up." But how are we to recognize the obscurantists, the snobs, the cultists, and the gangers-up, and turn the rascals out, when the people who know who they are—such as the editors of the *Saturday Review*—are so assiduous in obscuring their identity? The editors do at least go so far as to mention, in the course of their peroration, the Fellows of the Library of Congress in American Letters. Let us go farther and set down the names: Leonie Adams, Conrad Aiken, W. H. Auden, Louise Bogan, Katherine Garrison Chapin, T. S. Eliot, Paul Green, Robert Lowell, Archibald MacLeish, Katherine Anne Porter, Karl Shapiro, Allen Tate, Willard Thorp, Robert Penn Warren, William Carlos Williams.

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I am quite sure that the editors of the *SRL* do not regard *all* of the people listed here as obscurantists or snobs or cultists or gangers-up—or all four. It would seem reasonable, however, to assume that they regard T. S. Eliot as belonging to one or another of these reprehensible categories, since Mr. Eliot was Hillyer's main target.

But wait. A few months ago I encountered an editor of the *Saturday Review*. I opened the conversation by telling him what I thought of the Hillyer articles, and an argument ensued—to put it mildly. At one point I said that while it was unfortunate that communication between the public and the poet is as faulty as it is—it has never been perfect—I felt that the *Saturday Review* had rendered a great disservice to both the public and the poet by allowing Hillyer to defame a good poet like Eliot. The response I got convinced me that arguing with the editors of the *Saturday Review* is like trying to take hold of a cloud or a jelly fish. "A good poet!" he exclaimed; "Why, Eliot's a *great* poet!" You see what I mean.

I, for one, regret very much that the Bollingen Prize in Poetry—to give it its exact title—has been discontinued. And I think the pride which the *SRL* takes in its discontinuance is—disgusting.

When the editors of the *SRL* submitted their statement to *The Nation* they forbore to tell us that they were publishing it themselves as an editorial. It has already appeared. I consider this behavior most peculiar—but I cannot regret that the readers of the *SRL* know at last that seventy-two people signed a letter condemning the Hillyer articles and that the *SRL* refused to publish it. Many of these readers must eventually learn—though not from the *SRL*—that there were really eighty-four signers and that they included critics, poets, novelists, editors, and educators whom the *SRL* would not dare to call undistinguished.

Envoi

I should not be surprised if the *Saturday Review* should presently publish two long articles, written by a minor inventor with a grudge, denouncing Albert Einstein for publishing equations that many people, including some other scientists, can't understand. They might give the New York *Times* hell too, for printing such abracadabra on its front page. It is obvious that Einstein belongs to a coterie of scientists who probably write for each other—at least *I* can't understand them; who admire each other; and who practically never, snobs that they are, lie awake nights worrying because the public can't understand their interpretations of the universe.

The Progress of Poesy

THE CLASSICAL TRADITION. Greek and Roman Influences on Western Literature. By Gilbert Highet. Oxford University Press. $6.

GILBERT HIGHET, whom many a reader will remember with gratitude as the translator of Werner Jaeger's "Paideia," describes his work on the classical tradition as "an outline of the chief ways in which Greek and Latin influence has molded the literature of Western Europe and America." An excellent outline it is, and much else—an intelligent, erudite, perceptive interpretation of how, through study, translation, imitation, emulation, the masterpieces of ancient literature have variously shaped the forms, ideas, and ideals of subsequent literature down to our own day. It collects, sifts, compresses, and applies an immense accumulation of technical study that most readers have neither the time nor the training to examine for themselves and that too frequently is inaccessible to those who could make use of it. Like Hoxie Fairchild's magisterial volumes on religious trends and Douglas Bush's on mythology in English poetry, "The Classical Tradition" demonstrates how clearly the central meaning of an author or a period may be illumined by directing the light from a single angle. Incidentally also to its main purpose, it is a vindication of the dignity and usefulness of unspecialized scholarship in the humanities and of the validity of the historical approach to literature, which as a result of having been cultivated much too exclusively and often too aridly in American universities has lately fallen into an unmerited disrepute. Principally, however, Mr. Highet's book should be regarded as a contribution to the movement for a reawakened consciousness of the underlying cultural unity of the West, with-

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out which that culture will probably be divided further, then conquered, then all but completely obliterated. As such it is a book for the times.

Few books in its class are so expertly designed for the comfort and service of every kind of reader. The intent both to inform and to educate is never lost to sight. Necessary information, including brief, informal essays on some of the great writers of antiquity, is deftly supplied at the right places; it is not one of those books that can be read only with a shelf of reference works within reach. In the body of the book all book titles and all except a few quotations are given in English. Running heads, subtitles, and typographical display devices are used as helpful signposts along the way. There are no desert tracts of unidentified, uncharacterized books or persons. The twenty-four chapters are even in texture and carefully proportioned, everything however valuable or interesting that might obscure the structural lines of the book being relegated to the 150 pages of documentary and supplementary notes. These notes are quite as engaging as the text itself but must be read in a different way. The bibliography is short, annotated, and usable. Finally, the multitudinous contents are made easy to find by a table of contents and an index that are models of what these aids should be and seldom are. The whole *ordonnance* of the volume deserves, in fact, to be studied, marked, and inwardly digested by authors and publishers.

In a book that discusses the literature of five languages in its relation to Greece and Rome and that extends across twelve centuries from Caedmon to Robinson Jeffers, treating almost every really major figure in some detail and making briefer yet informative mention of many others, it is impossible to enumerate all the good things. Among them are a beautiful miniature essay on Boethius, who enters the story in connection with Alfred the Great; a short but profound study of Dante's relation to Virgil, which should be read as a supplement to J. H. Whitfield's recent book on the subject; an extraordinarily fine chapter on Rabelais and Montaigne; another on the once famous Battle of the Books in France and England; a just appreciation of what Gibbon did and did not accomplish; some fascinating but inconclusive speculation, never quite getting to the heart of his dilemma, about why Mommsen never continued his "Roman History"—the distillation of two generations of *common-room gossip*; the *discriminating* later chapters on the Symbolists, James Joyce, and the recent interpreters—perverters, some will say—of the Greek myths. But other readers might draw up different lists.

Everyone, too, will pencil the margins with his own marks of query, challenge, or dissent. Errors of fact, to judge by the few pages on which this reviewer is competent to find them, are not worth mentioning, and Mr. Highet's catholic appreciation of all kinds of men and movements and his talent for setting them in proper perspective make his judgments hard to quarrel with. Understandably provoked by a paragraph of Teutonic conceit by Paul Hensel, Mr. Highet was seduced into denying that the sixteenth-century Renaissance affected Germany: clever repartee, perhaps, but a misleading exaggeration. Luther should not be represented as anti-humanist or even as wholly indifferent to humanism. It is regrettable that in the discussion of German classicism there was no room to cite Edwin Muir's deeply intuitive essay on North and South, which appears to have been the inspiration of later British research in the affinity of pine to palm. More serious than these exercises in captiousness is an objection to Mr. Highet's extension of the term "baroque" to include styles as far removed from one another in time and temper as Donne and Browne on the one hand and Fielding, Goldsmith, and by implication Washington Irving, on the other, although he makes an able defense of this practice. He has done so probably in order to account for Johnson, who has given his name to his own age but who had his deepest roots in another. It is preferable, nevertheless, to keep in mind Wölfflin's application of the term in art and architecture chiefly of the seventeenth century and to restrict its use in literary criticism to the related phenomena.

Mr. Highet has observed that "during the last hundred years classical knowledge has increased in intension but decreased in extension," in other words that it has become a specialty—as poetry itself is in peril of becoming—and has ceased to be a force in the lives of the greater number of intelligent people. A good share of the responsibility he lays on classical scholars themselves, with their rheumatic translations, inept teaching, and preoccupation with side issues, much as Emil Brunner blames theologians for blocking the path to religious faith with irrelevant rubbish. True enough, yet the humanities have always been taught badly, for they make such demands on teachers that only the more gifted can measure up to them. The trouble lies elsewhere. Mr. Highet's entire book is a demonstration of the educating, civilizing power of the classical tradition; in his concluding chapter he urges, with eloquent restraint, that the great tradition be not lost in our time. Let us hope that the young people who, a few years ago, in barracks and aboard ship and on war-time campuses were eagerly reading the successive volumes of "Paideia" will also discover this book.

GEORGE GENZMER

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The Girls of New England

THE GOLDEN THREADS. By Hannah Josephson. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $3.75.

BY "GOLDEN THREADS" Mrs. Josephson means the fat profits and handsome dividends paid to the textile barons of Boston by the work of the girl operatives in the textile mills of Lowell, Massachusetts, from 1822 to 1850. The author has a rich theme in the first impacts of the Industrial Revolution on our native-born workers, and she handles it in a lively manner.

The textile industry over here, as in England some years before, was the first to adapt mass-production techniques made possible by a galaxy of brilliant inventions. Lowell, with its spic-and-span mills, its great water wheels providing power from the confluence of the Merrimack and Concord rivers, and best of all, perhaps, its easy-to-look-at "female operatives," was one of the American wonders to which visiting celebrities were guided, along with a Southern plantation, an Indian encampment, and Niagara Falls.

Francis Cabot Lowell, who died before the company town which took his name was laid out, was a genius at adaptation. A Harvard graduate, one of The Family, he had been abroad just before the War of 1812 making mental notes of the carefully guarded English textile machinery and techniques, and with the help of Paul Moody, an American mechanic, he was among the first of our entrepreneurs, after the war, to set up large-scale production of thread and cotton cloth. Mrs. Josephson surmises that Lowell visited Robert Owen's successful textile community at New Lanark in Scotland, where by a combination of co-op stores, progressive schools, Utopian Socialist idealism, and his forceful, paternalistic personality Owen had established exceptionally favorable relationships between management and labor. Young Lowell rejected the idealism of Owen but retained the paternalism in his first ventures over here. He saw the advantages of keeping a working force contented instead of driving them to mutinous outbreaks, as was the case in Alexander Hamilton's earlier project at Paterson, New Jersey.

After Lowell's death in 1817 Nathan Appleton and Patrick Tracy Jackson, who had collaborated with Lowell, started the planned mill town beside the rapids of the Merrimack at what was then East Chelmsford, and with capital invested by the great New England merchant families soon had an up-and-coming town of more than five thousand inhabitants built around the mills. From President Andrew Jackson to the acerbic Charles Dickens, who finally found something American which he could praise, visitors to Lowell proclaimed its Utopian charms in contrast to the squalid environs of an English or Scotch mill town.

"The girls who worked in the mills at Lowell," writes Mrs. Josephson, "had precisely the same background as did many of the men who launched the textile industry in this country. Their fathers' farms had been equally stony and unprofitable, their parents equally pious, their early instruction in thrift and self-denial, their longing for education and 'culture' the same."

Down from the hills they came, these healthy, bouncing country girls, lured by the mill agents' promises of hard cash, the excitements of city life, the chance for self-improvement, and into the mills from the company boarding-houses they went to work from sun-up to sun-down for wages averaging two dollars a week, with board and keep paid by the company. At that, some were able to save two or three hundred dollars at the end of several years of back-breaking work,

It was not so much the wages that first opened the eyes of the girls to the flaws in this Eden as the hours and working conditions and the spying upon their every activity by the grim-visaged boarding-house keepers, who took their orders and their pay from the company. These last were the spiritual forbears of Mr. Ford's head snooper, W. J. Cameron. They drew up formidable lists of rules for the conduct of the girls in the barrack-like houses, herded their charges early to bed, routed them out at the first streaks of dawn, and saw to it that they went to church on Sunday. Most of the girls soon figured they were capable of caring for their own morals. It would take a brash city slicker indeed to make unwelcome advances to a hefty operative fresh from a hard-scrabble farm in Vermont. Before long, under the guidance of Sarah Bagley, a pioneer union organizer, the more militant girls were quietly talking about the need for a ten-hour day. On the other hand, operatives like Lucy Larcom, the poet, protégé of John Greenleaf Whittier, sought escape from the monotonies of the mill by editing and contributing to the "Lowell Offering," which was to excite the admiration of intellectuals here and abroad for the quality of its articles, poems, and stories.

The story of the first attempts to organize women workers in this country, of the alliance of the pioneer union with the intellectuals among the New England reformers, and the eventual displacement of the farm girls by more docile immigrant labor is told with sympathy and spirit by the talented author of this book.

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Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

"SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER" was a happy choice for the first offering of the season of four plays at the New York City Center. Goldsmith's play is amusing and bright, and at times pleasantly rowdy. It also happens to provide an enjoyable exercise in playmaking. From what I've seen on Broadway these past three months, contemporary playwrights—and especially contemporary audiences—could do with a few pointers. Pointers in craftsmanship and discrimination are part of the function, of course, of a repertory theater—and that is what Maurice Evans, artistic supervisor of the enterprise, hopes will emerge from this modest beginning. I wish him luck.

The acting is uneven. Evelyn Varden's Mrs. Hardcastle is too broad, Burl Ives's eighteenth-century English squire slips into twentieth-century American gestures, facial and other, that disturb the illusion. The painstaking enunciation of Carmen Mathews (as Miss

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Neville) gets tiresome. As for Ezra Stone's Tony Lumpkin, it is funny but again a bit anachronistic and a touch too boisterous. Also, though I suppose it is not entirely Mr. Stone's fault, Henry Aldrich keeps showing through. But Celeste Holm plays the part of Kate Hardcastle so prettily and so skilfully that the production is worth seeing for her performance alone. And Brian Aherne takes in his stride the rather difficult part of Kate's prospective husband who stammers in the presence of nice girls and feels at home only with barmaids.

"She Stoops to Conquer" will be on only until January 10. The second play will be Emlyn Williams's "The Corn Is Green," the third Margaret Webster's production of Shaw's "The Devil's Disciple."

Art

WELDON KEES

THE atmosphere in art circles, here in New York at least, seems increasingly grayer, a good deal emptier than in years, and charged with stasis. One would set this down with more hesitation had not the grayness taken on such body and richness of late, and did not so many people in a position to know speak of it and let it influence their action. The torpor and despondency that have pervaded literary circles for some time seem to have widened their area of saturation.

Yet more than a few painters continue to produce at a higher level than the "cultural situation" apparently provides for. The demand for their work is infinitesimal. A hypothetical gallery that depended solely on the sales of the works of the nine or ten best-known advanced painters would do well to show the profits of a neighborhood candy store. One of the most important, celebrated, and influential painters in the country has for years found it impossible to market his work; the situation of even such a hard-pressed and badgered forerunner as Pissarro, for instance, seems enviable by comparison. One sale a year, to many painters, is a refreshing novelty. In a sense it is difficult not to agree with Herbert Read's assertion that cabinet painting has lost all economic and social justification. Such a point of view will, of course, be meaningless to those who snap up the works of such facile academic fabricators as Walter Stuempfig, whose "glowing light" and aged-in-the-wood literalism have brought comfort to *Life*, the art journals, and all earnest admirers of exhausted modes.

From an economic standpoint the activities of our advanced painters must be regarded as either heroic, mad, or compulsive; they have only an aesthetic justification, and even this, one feels, has become increasingly meager. Morale has dwindled; it would be hard to name a painter who is working at a high and steady level of intensity—here or in Europe—in a sense remotely approaching that of Cézanne, Van Gogh, or the Cubists early in their careers. One is continually astounded that art persists at all in the face of so much indifference, failure, and isolation. Van Gogh could write, "Now it is getting grimmer, colder, emptier, and duller around me," while still insisting that "surely there will come a change for the better." Today we are not likely to insist too strongly on the chances of so interesting a modulation. And in these times, if we were dealing with Van Gogh as a contemporary, we should handle things differently: he would be "recognized," would show annually on Fifty-seventh Street, be stroked, complimented, sell a few canvases, go to cocktail parties, and be *tamed*. Not tamed too much, however. He might even find it possible to write that "it is getting grimmer, colder, emptier, and duller . . . and things go along, worsening only a little."

If advanced painters suffer from the knowledge that their canvases, after the usual three weeks' exposure to the light, are destined for a long period of dust-gathering in the racks of a gallery or in their own studios, they can take little more comfort from the proportions of their audience. An exhibition that attracts as many persons as go to fill up a movie house for one performance is successful in the extreme. Such gallery-goers will consist almost exclusively of other painters, collectors (most of whom are not collecting at the moment), art critics, students, art instructors, and museum officials, dealers from other galleries, relatives and friends. Unable to gain a living from what he is most capable of doing, the contemporary American painter, like the poet, turns to the classroom. Today more painters than ever are teaching, for our society is fantastically devoted to the idea that the young be instructed and that still more painters be encouraged so that any valid work they produce may be ignored more completely. From the foundations responsible for fellowships and grants a serious painter can expect nothing: these act as mechanisms which function marvelously in supplying blue ribbons to the second-rate; it is scarcely news that the Guggenheim Foundation in particular has shown unerring skill in rejecting the applications of those artists whose

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work most deserves aid. And so it goes.

The past decade has accounted for an unprecedented burgeoning among a new school of abstractionists, whose originality and seriousness exist in their own terms—and in truly *international* terms—rather than as a minor branch of the School of Paris. We may be, as James Thrall Soby has pointed out, "at the beginning of an era in which the artists of the Western world will try to communicate from country to country instead of through the Parisian switchboard." Meanwhile the problem of communication of a much more modest, immediate, and local variety remains overwhelming.

In this atmosphere it is heartening to note the development and modifications in the work of Adolph Gottlieb, at the Kootz Gallery (January 10-30). Gottlieb's reputation has thus far rested on the steady production of pictographs—diversified rectangles inclosing hieroglyphic forms—notable for their diversity and sense of the mysterious. Though many of the canvases in his new show retain this formula without strain or exhaustion—to some extent through a shift to a more airy and paler range of color than he has used before—the most striking canvases are those in which his forms have broken loose from their pictographic inclosures to declare a new sense of independence and motion. Outstanding, too, is a stunning isolated canvas of a single totemistic figure of black sand—a figure that seems the sum of a pictograph's parts. This willingness to change and experiment at a crucial stage of his career is perhaps the most important aspect of the most interesting show of this artist's work in some years.

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

IT isn't only Toscanini who creates in a phrase of melody the tensions which carry each note forward to the next; one hears this done by Schnabel, by Aitken; one hears it, for example, in Schnabel's recorded performance of Mozart's Piano Concerto K. 467, where it gives the *Allegro* movements their vitality and sparkle, the *Andante* its tremendous cumulative power. And one doesn't hear it in the performance of this work recently recorded for Columbia by Casadesus, in which as a result the music comes out with lessened vitality and power, and much of the time, in fact, with insipidity. There is more force in the playing of the New York Philharmonic under Münch; and the difference is heightened by recording which, in the LP version (ML-2067), makes the sound of the orchestra bigger, more spacious, more brilliant than that of the piano.

Columbia also has issued Tchaikovsky's Violin Concerto, played by Isaac Stern with the Philadelphia Orchestra under Hilsberg, and played in the way most people have been led to think the right way with Tchaikovsky—that is, with wallowing in an emotionalism exaggerated by the exaggeration of everything else. But I happen to think this no more the right way for Tchaikovsky than for Mozart. The performance, which makes a few cuts, is well reproduced by the LP record (ML-4232).

Gershwin's Second Rhapsody, which he first called "Rhapsody in Rivets," has been recorded by Levant with Morton Gould's Orchestra. This piece gives me the effect of an integrated work less than any other by Gershwin; it is mostly a "riveting" hubbub, with some engaging passages, interrupted for a few minutes by one of Gershwin's most gorgeous slow melodies. What the "riveting" hubbub requires, Levant's piano-playing can supply; in other passages he is less adequate. The over-all brashness of the performance conducted by Gould is well reproduced by the LP record (ML-2073), which also offers Gershwin's uninteresting Variations on "I Got Rhythm," played by Levant with the orchestra, and LP versions of his older solo performances of Preludes Nos. 1, 2, and 3.

London has issued on an LP record (LLP-114) what—from a couple of pauses, and a hum in the slow movement that disappears suddenly—I judge to be a dubbing from a 78 r.p.m. recording of Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 5 played by Curzon with the London Philharmonic under Szell. The performance is good, but is reproduced with unpleasant sharpness.

On 78 r.p.m. records (LA-98, 3 12") London offers Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto played by Campoli with the London Philharmonic under Van Beinum. Campoli plays simply and well in the fast portions; but in the slow ones he indulges in much tremulousness and swelling and contracting of tone. The performance is excellently reproduced.

On the other hand, Ossy Renardy's unpretentious playing in Brahms's pretentious Violin Concerto—together with his other fine qualities as a violinist and musician—make his performance with the Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra under Münch a superb one. It is excellently reproduced by the 78 r.p.m. records (LA-87, 5 12"), except for a sharpness that is remedied by reduction of treble.

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